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ABSTRACT

This research was based on parental acceptance rejection theory which postulates that children are likely to develop an impaired sense of self esteem, self adequacy and overall self evaluation insofar as they perceive themselves to be rejected by their parents. Emphasis was placed upon assessing the interrelationships among perceived parental acceptance rejection, self evaluation, and academic performance of Korean American children as they are affected by gender and socioeconomic status. A nationwide sample of Korean American children responded to questionnaires which elicited information about household composition, parental occupation, and parental education. Grades for mathematics, reading, language arts, and social studies were also obtained for each child. The survey supported some of the major postulates of parental acceptance/rejection theory and shed positive intercorrelations among the three variables: parental acceptance/rejection, self evaluation, and academic performance. Social class was also shown to affect these variables. Middle class children perceived their parents as being warmer than did working class children, and also displayed more positive self evaluation and better academic performance than those of working class children. (AP)

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RELATIONSHIPS AMONG PERCEIVED PARENTAL ACCEPTANCE-REJECTION, SELF-EVALUATION AND ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE OF KOREAN-AMERICAN CHILDREN

Byungchai C. Hahn

B.A., Pepperdine College, 1956
M.S., Eastern Connecticut State College, 1971

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Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the

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at

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To Betty, my sister

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RELATIONSHIPS AMONG PERCEIVED PARENTAL ACCEPTANCE-REJECTION, SELF-EVALUATION AND ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE OF KOREAN-AMERICAN CHILDREN

Byungchai C. Hahn

University of Connecticut, 1980

This research was guided by parental acceptance-rejection theory which postulates that children everywhere are likely to develop an impaired sense of self-esteem, self-adequacy and overall self-evaluation insofar as they perceive themselves to be rejected by their parents. Particular emphasis was placed upon assessing the interrelationships among perceived parental acceptance-rejection, self-evaluation, and academic performance of Korean-American children as they are affected by gender and socioeconomic status.

A nationwide sample of 171 Korean-American children from both middle class and working class families participated in the research. The subjects were contacted through Korean-American churches, community organizations, or private Korean-American homes. Children participating in the research responded to two self-report questionnaires (PARQ and PAQ), and they filled out the Background Data Questionnaire which elicited information about household composition, parental occupation, and parental education. In addition,

with parental consenses, grades for mathematics, reading, language arts, and social studies were solicited from the schools for each child. Those subjects contacted through Korean-American churches or ethnic organizations completed the questionnaires under the observation of Korean-American representatives, while those reached at private homes were given two to four weeks to independently complete the questionnaires. The return rate was nearly 80 percent for the working class sample and approximately 92 percent for the middle class respondents.

As predicted, the results of this study showed positive intercorrelations among three variables of Korean-American children: parental acceptance-rejection, self-evaluation in terms of self-esteem and self-adequacy, and academic performance. A positive correlation was found between the children's perception of parental acceptance-rejection and their self-evaluation. In addition, positive self-evaluation among Korean-American children was associated with a higher level of academic performance than was negative self-evaluation. Moreover, perceived parental acceptance-rejection was related significantly to the level of children's academic achievement. Finally, as predicted by the parental acceptance-rejection theory, perceived parental acceptance-rejection and overall self-evaluation jointly had a greater affect on academic performance than either variable individually.

Social class was also shown to affect perceived parental acceptance-rejection, self-evaluation, and academic performance of Korean-American children. That is, middle class

Korean-American children perceived their parents as being warmer than did working class Korean-American children. Furthermore, middle class children displayed both more positive self-evaluation (self-esteem and self-adequacy), and higher level of academic performance than did working class children. The predicted difference in academic performance between Korean-American boys and girls, however, was not supported. With this single exception, all seven hypotheses guiding this research were supported. Thus, some of the major postulates of parental acceptance-rejection theory receive support in a national sample of Korean-American families, and new evidence is provided showing the interrelationship between perceived parental acceptance-rejection, children's self-evaluation, and academic achievement as they are affected by gender and social class.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

For the many Koreans who migrate to the United States, there are common aspirations for a decent and prosperous life in a free, democratic society. Although some choose to come to the United States for reasons of political ideology and equal opportunity, many come for economic and social mobility and most of all, in order to obtain better lives for their children. They leave Korea, equipped with their native customs, values and language to settle in a country in which prior social status and centuries-old traditions have no meaning. Most of these newcomers are middle class. They are the population who once held professional jobs, owned comfortable homes, and attended exclusive schools in Korea.

Since the mid 1960's when the new immigration quota system went into effect, Koreans have been the third largest immigrant group admitted to the United States, exceeded only by Mexicans and Filipinos (Yu, 1977:117). As of 1976 there were an estimated 290,000 Koreans in the United States, with a projection to nearly half a million by 1980 (Yu, 1977:12). However, the rapid increase in the number of Korean families in the United States has created considerable problems in various areas. The four major Korean-American newspapers (Minju, The

Jung Ang Daily, Tonga, Ilbo, The American News) frequently report serious problems concerning parent-child interactions and education facing Korean-American children and their parents.

Two major problems facing Korean-American parents are the psychological stress caused by a new environment, and the necessity for socioeconomic adjustment in a strange culture. One factor which may exacerbate these phenomena is that many Korean-American parents who attained high educational and occupational levels in Korea do not enjoy similar socioeconomic status in the United States. According to the 1970 census, earnings of Koreans with college degrees are much lower than those of their United States counterparts. It is also reported that there is an extreme degree of underemployment among recent Korean immigrants with high educational and occupational backgrounds. The same study found that 90 percent of Korean-American female workers were employed as sewing machine operators, the majority of these with college degrees (NAAFS, 1970, "Demography"). As for the problems facing Korean-American immigrant children, a recent survey by Guskin and Guskin (1970) reports that the problems which Korean-American students experience include difficulty in understanding or communicating in the new language, ignorance of commonly accepted patterns of interpersonal interactions and the incapacity to cope with new ways of thinking and behaving (Guskin and Guskin, 1970:98). Such dilemmas, experienced by both Korean-American parents and their children, inevitably affect behavior as parents, students and as new members of American society.

Despite the rapid growth in the number of Korean-Americans in the United States and the seriousness of the problems facing Korean-American families, very little is known about Koreans in America. Especially little is known about their parent-child relations or about their children's personality development and academic performance. However, all these factors are important to the successful long-range acculturation or assimilation processes by which Koreans enter the mainstream of the American experience.

This research is guided by a parental acceptance-rejection theory. Parental acceptance-rejection theory postulates that children are likely to develop impaired senses of self-esteem and self-adequacy insofar as they perceive themselves as rejected by the persons most important to them, usually their parents. It is theorized that this impairment occurs regardless of cultural background, race, language or other limiting conditions (Rohner, 1975, 1980). Results reported by Rohner (1975) clearly demonstrate that parental rejection by itself is sufficient to produce serious and often damaging consequences for children as well as for adults who were rejected as children.

Although some research findings remain somewhat unclear, studies indicate that the warmth dimension of parental behavior contributes significantly to intellectual development (Coopersmith, 1967; Radin, 1971; Hurley, 1965; Sears, 1970; Starkey, 1980). Coopersmith (1967), for example, found that children with low self-esteem view their parents as deemphasizing school achievement and as emphasizing attention and concern for the

reactions of others. Children with high self-esteem, on the other hand, view their parents as placing a high value on school achievement and as deemphasizing excessive attention and concern for the opinions of others. Sears (1970) also found that early parental warmth is associated with high self-concept. He noted high self-concept related in both boys and girls to high reading and arithmetic achievement and to parental warmth.

The results of studies focusing on the relation between socioeconomic status and parental warmth are somewhat inconsistent. Hurley (1955), Figge (1931) and Kohn and Carroll (1960) found parental rejection associated with a lower socioeconomic status. In contrast, overall evidence (Martin, 1975) suggests that parents in the various social classes of America do not vary significantly in terms of warmth. More recent research indicates that the warmth-hostility dimension of parental behavior is probably not directly related to economic factors, although economic factors may place an additional burden or strain on parent-child relationships (Polansky et al., 1972; Spinetta et al., 1972). Finally, although some studies do suggest sex differences in orientation toward academic achievement related to parental warmth (Wyer, 1965; Brainerd, 1969; Groth, 1971; Honzik, 1967), a number of researchers agree that further research is needed to clarify the differential effects of parental warmth on males and females in relation to academic achievement.

Statement of the Problem

This study examines perceived parental acceptance-rejection among Korean-Americans and relates this dimension of parenting to the self-evaluation and academic performance of Korean-American children. Also studied are the relation between socio-economic status and parental acceptance-rejection among Korean-Americans, and the relation between children's sex and their academic performance as affected by parental warmth.

In summary, then, this study assesses the relationship between perceived parental acceptance-rejection and children's (a) self-evaluation (self-esteem and self-adequacy), and (b) academic performance (grade point average) as they are affected by children's (i) gender, and (ii) social class background (middle class versus working class).

Statement of Hyotheses

Given the research objectives stated above, the following specific hypotheses were tested:

Hypothesis 1. The more accepting children perceive their parents to be, the more positive the reported self-evaluation of both boys and girls in both social classes.

Hypothesis 2. The more positive the reported self-evaluation of children is, the higher the academic performance of both boys and girls in both social classes.

Hypothesis 3. The more accepting children perceive their parents to be, the higher the academic performance of both boys and girls in both social classes.

Hypothesis 4. In comparison to the effect of either perceived parental acceptance or self-evaluation individually,

'the joint effect of perceived parental acceptance and positive self-evaluation maximizes both boys' and girls' grade point averages in both social classes.

Hypothesis 5. Regardless of the level of perceived parental acceptance-rejection, in both social classes girls tend to achieve a higher grade point average than do boys.

Hypothesis 6. Middle class Korean-American children (both boys and girls) perceive their parents as being significantly warmer than do working class Korean-American children.

Hypothesis 7. The self-evaluation of middle class Korean-American children (both boys and girls) is significantly higher than the self-evaluation of working class Korean-American children.

Hypothesis 8. The mean grade point average of middle class Korean-American children (both boys and girls) is significantly higher than the mean grade point average of working class Korean-American children.

Definition of Variables

Variables defined by Rohner are presented for this study as they appear in Parental Acceptance-Rejection Theory (Rohner, 1975; 1978; 1980) and in the PARQ Test Manual (1978). Following are Rohner's definitions of the warmth dimension of parental behavior, parental acceptance-rejection, undifferentiated rejection and self-evaluation.

> Warmth Dimension. Parental rejection and parental acceptance together form the warmth dimension of parental behavior. Parental acceptance stands in opposition to parental rejection. Rejection refers conceptually to the absence or significant withdrawal of warmth and affection on the part of the parent towards the child. Parental acceptance, on the other hand, refers to the

love, affection and concern that parents can express towards their children. All humans can be placed somewhere along this continuum (Rohner, 1975).

Parental Acceptance-Rejection. Parental acceptance-rejection is a bipolar dimension of parental behavior with acceptance (i.e., warmth) defining one end of the continuum and parental rejection defining the other end. Parental warmth may be expressed physically in such ways as fondling, hugging, kissing, and caressing, or verbally in such ways as complimenting, praising or saying nice things to or about one's child. Parental rejection, i.e., the absence or significant withdrawal of warmth and affection, seems to be expressed the world over in three different ways (see Rohner, 1975), namely in the form of aggression/hostility, neglect/indifference, and in an "undifferentiated" form where parents withdraw warmth from the child (Rohner, Saavedra and Granum, 1978).

Undifferentiated Rejection. Undifferentiated rejection refers to conditions where parents are perceived as withdrawing love from the child (i.e., they reject him), but where such rejection does not clearly reflect either aggression/hostility or neglect/indifference, per se.

Self-Evaluation. Self-evaluation consists of feelings about, attitudes toward and perceptions of oneself, falling on a continuum from positive to negative. Self-evaluation consists of two related dimensions, self-esteem and self-adequacy:

Self-esteem is a global, emotional evaluation of oneself in terms of worth. Positive feelings of self-esteem imply that a person likes or approves of himself, accepts himself, is comfortable with himself, is rarely disappointed in himself and perceives himself as being a person of worth, or worthy of respect. Negative self-esteem, on the other hand, implies that a person dislikes or disapproves of himself, devaluates himself, perhaps feels inferior to others and perceives himself as being essentially a worthless person or as being worthy of condemnation (Rohner, 1975:176).

Self-adequacy is an overall self-evaluation of one's competence to perform daily taks adequately, to cope satisfactorily with daily problems and to satisfy one's own needs. Positive feelings of self-adequacy imply that a person views himself as being a capable person, able to deal satisfactorily with his daily problems and feels that he is a success or is capable of success in the things he sets out to do; he is self-assured or self-confident and feels socially adequate. Negative feelings of self-adequacy, on the other hand, imply that a person feels he is an incompetent person, unable to meet or cope successfully with the demands of day-to-day living. He lacks confident self-assurance, often feeling inept, and he sees himself as a failure and as being unable to compete successfully for the things he wants (Rohner, 1975: 177).

Korean-Americans. In this study a Korean-American adult is defined as a person born in Korea of Korean parents, but who now resides in the United States. Some of these persons are naturalized American citizens and some are permanent residents.

Korean-American Children. A Korean-American child is defined here as a child of a Korean-American mother and father, who is between seven and twelve years of age. Some of these children were born in Korea and some were born in the United States, but all have lived in the United States for at least three years.

Social Class. For the purpose of this study, a family is regarded as being middle class if the father is now professionally employed in the United States and holds either an American or Korean university degree. On the other hand, a family is regarded as being working class if the father is now steadily employed as a manual laborer or clerical worker in the United States, regardless of his previous level of education.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This chapter consists of three parts. The first presents a review of theory and research on parental acceptance-rejection insofar as the evidence is pertinent to this research. The second part of this chapter presents a more specific review of literature on the relationship between parental acceptance-rejection and self-evaluation, and the third part of the chapter examines the evidence regarding the association of parental acceptance-rejection with children's academic performance.

Review of Theory and Research on Parental Acceptance-Rejection

Over the past half-century, both cross-national and cross-cultural factor analytic studies on parental behavior have continually demonstrated that of several aspects of parent-child interaction, the dimension of parental warmth (i.e., acceptance-rejection) is the most significant factor (Martin, 1975; Rohner, 1975; Schaefer, 1959). The numerous factor analytic studies dealing with the correlates and consequences of parental acceptance and rejection indicate that the warmth dimension of parenting can be identified throughout the world: Martin (1975) and Rohner (1959) in the United States; Devereux (1970) in Germany, England and the United States; Minturn and Lambert (1964) in

Okinawa, Kenya, Mexico, India, the Philippines and the United States; Renson, Schaefer and Levy (1968) in Belgium and the United States; Peterson and Migiorino (1967) in Sicily and the United States; Schludermann and Schludermann (1971) among the Hutterites of Manitoba; and Saavedra (1977) in Puerto Rico. These studies further confirm our belief that children everywhere experience varying degrees of warmth from their major caretakers, usually their parents. Further, research by Rohner and his associates shows that "variations in parental warmth are related panculturally to specific antecedents and outcomes" (Rohner, 1975; 1980). In addition to the substantial work done in the United States, parental acceptance-rejection theory (1980) has thus far been tested in four cross-cultural settings: Turkey, Newfoundland, Puerto Rico, and Mexico, as well as in a holocultural study of 101 societies representing a sample of the world's known and adequately described cultural systems. Work is currently underway in Czechoslovakia, India, Iran, and Africa, and in a second holocultural sample of 186 societies.

The rejection portion of the warmth dimension has drawn greater attention and interest because its effects are more immediately apparent than the effects of parental acceptance per se. Rohner (1975) postulated that the withdrawal or absence of love by itself is often sufficient to produce damaging consequences for children and for adults who were rejected as children. Parental acceptance-rejection theory (Rohner, 1975; 1980) assumes among other things that early and severe parental rejection tends to distort and inhibit normal personality development. Rohner cites a constellation of personality

characteristics expected to be associated with parental rejection everywhere. These traits include hostility and aggression, high dependency needs (or "defensive independence," depending on the degree of perceived rejection), negative self-evaluation, including negative self-esteem and negative self-adequacy, emotional unresponsiveness, emotional instability and negative world view (Rohner, 1975, 1977, 1980; Rohner and Rohner, 1975).

Before continuing, it should be noted that there is a concensus among many researchers that there have been methodological as well as conceptual problems evidenced in past research on the parental acceptance-rejection theory. They contend that past researchers failed to incorporate each others' work and occasionally produced conflicting and confusing results. The application of differing terminology to major concepts by the various researchers made it difficult to accurately compare old and new studies. In addition, many studies were based on retrospective data and relied on a single measure of a process rather than utilizing a multi-method research strategy to help control for possible errors introduced by a single measurement procedure (Rohner and Nielson, 1978).

A Review of Research on the Relationship Between Parental Acceptance-Rejection and Self-Evaluation

In a landmark study on the antecedents of self-esteem, Coopersmith (1967) reported that emotionally stable parents are most likely to produce children who regard themselves with approval. This relationship is explained in part as due to the fact that emotionally stable parents permit their children greater independence and greater freedom. Children with high

self-esteem were also found to have more rewarding and more satisfactory social relationships with others than do children with low self-esteem. In addition, Coopersmith (1967) found that the parents of the children with low self-esteem failed to guide their children, treated them relatively harshly and disrespectfully, and withdrew their love as a form of punishment.

Similarly, Rosenberg (1963) found that low self-esteem was associated more strongly with extreme parental indifference than with punitive parental reactions, signifying that the warmth dimension rather than the control dimension of parenting is more closely associated with self-esteem. In other words, extreme indifference was found more likely than punitive reactions from parents to foster low self-esteem in children.

Saavedra (1977; 1980) explored the relationship between parental acceptance-rejection and adolescents' perceptions of self-esteem and self-adequacy in a sample of 208 thirteen-to-nineteen-year-old Puerto Rican males. He found: (1) there is a linear relationship between adolescents' reported perceptions of parental acceptance and adolescents' feelings of self-esteem; (2) the more permissive the perceived parental control, the more positive the youths' assessments of self-adequacy; (3) the joint effects of perceived high parental acceptance and moderate parental control maximizes the level of positive self-adequacy in adolescents' self-assessments. Cross-cultural survey results reported by Rohner (1975) add further support to the relationship between parental acceptance

and positive self-evaluation, as do results reported by Sears (1970). It should be noted, however, that very little research has dealt with the relationship between parental acceptance-rejection and self-adequacy. Saavedra (1977) is one of the few who explored the relationship between parental acceptance-rejection and adolescents' perceptions of self-adequacy. This research is another attempt to look into the relationship.

A Review of Research on the Relationship Between Self-Concept and Academic Achievement

Numerous empirical studies have found self-concept to be significantly related to children's academic achievement (Brookover, 1964; Campbell, 1965; Coleman, 1966; Purkey, 1970; Caplin, 1969; Frerichs, 1970; Lamy, 1965). Brookover (1964) and Purkey (1970) found that improved self-esteem will not only lead to greater happiness, but also to greater academic achievement. Brookover and Thomas (1964) found a significant relationship between children's GPA and self-concept of ability of .42 for boys and .39 for girls after controlling for measured intelligence. Other research findings which have examined the relationship between measures of self-esteem and measures of school achievement have also found significant correlations ranging from moderate (Coopersmith, 1959, 1967; Richmond and Dalton, 1973; Trowbridge, 1970) to low (Kunce, Getsinger and Miller, 1972; Nelson, 1970; Nicholls, 1967) although some studies have failed to find a substantial significant relationship between these variables (Butcher, 1967; Williams, 1973).

Passow and Goldberg (1962) and Shaw and Alves (1963) found that bright but underachieving students, especially boys, have more negative self-concepts than do students who are equally bright and achieving at the level of their ability. Coleman (1965) found self-concepts of educationally underachieving Mexican-American children significantly lower than those of other white children. Rubin et al. (1977) also found a moderate relationship between self-esteem and school achievement and behavior for a sample of 530 twelve-year olds. Furthermore, many investigators have found evidence for lower self-esteem among underachieving black children than among more achieving white children (Proshansky and Newton, 1968) although several recent studies have challenged this conclusion (Dreger and Miller, 1968; Nobles, 1973; Rosenberg and Simmons, 1973). While these contradicting findings need to be examined further, overall, correlational studies cited here do indicate a significant relationship between children's self-concepts and their academic achievement.

A Review of Research on the Relationship Between Parental Acceptance-Rejection and Academic Achievement

There is a fairly large number of research findings regarding the relationship between parental acceptance-rejection and academic achievement, at least among White, Anglo-Saxon American children. However, only a few of the landmark studies pertinent to this research will be cited here.

Although there are some conflicting conclusions concerning the relation between the warmth dimension of parental behavior and academic achievement, most studies indicate that

warmth contributes significantly to intellectual development. Clarke-Stewart (1973) found in a study of 36 mothers and their children (ages nine to eighteen months) that maternal affection and positive emotion led to enhanced performance on a comprehensive measure of intellectual development and motivation. Radin (1971) reported similar results in a study of 52 lower class mothers, both black and white, and their four-year old children. Radin concluded that maternal childrearing practices significantly reflect the child's response in preschool programs.

Haider (1970) explored the relationship between parental attitudes, childrearing practices, and academic underachievement among a sample of 64 gifted (I.Q. of 120 or above) third, fourth, and fifth grade boys. Mothers of achievers were found to have warm relationships with their child, to demonstrate more positive approval of the child, and to be more perceptive of the nature of the child. Covington (1966) also found that educationally successful children perceived parental behaviors and attitudes as more accepting than did educationally unsuccessful children. In fact, the educationally unsuccessful children tended to perceive themselves as rejected.

Noting the influence of self-concept on academic behavior, Sears (1970) explored the variables associated with the formation of "self-concept" in sixth grade boys and girls. He found that for both boys and girls, high self-concept was significantly associated with a number of variables. Among these variables were: (1) high reading achievement and arithmetic achievement, and (2) high maternal and paternal warmth. In Sear's study, positive self-concept was related to high levels

of maternal and paternal warmth. Sears examined relationships between self-concept and measures of academic achievement. The measures of academic achievement included I.Q. scores, reading achievement test scores, and arithmetic achievement test scores. The correlations between achievement measures and summary self-concept scores were all significant at the 5 percent level or better. Coleman (1966) and Caplin (1969) also indicated in their studies that higher achievement is positively correlated with more positive self-concept. Similarly, Starkey (1978) studied the relationship between parental acceptance-rejection and academic achievement. She examined the relationship between parental acceptance-rejection and the academic performance of 220 fourth and fifth graders, employing the Parental Acceptance-Rejection Questionnaire (the same instrument used in this study), and the SRA Achievement Test; she also computed pupils' grades, and SES as measured by Hollingshead's (1957) Two Factor Index. Starkey found that parental acceptance is more closely associated with children's successful academic performance than is rejection, and concluded that the relationship is stronger for boys than for girls. Starkey (1978) also found that regardless of sex, parental warmth is positively associated with children's academic performance (composite SRA scores, math SRA scores, and reading SRA scores).

A Review of Research on the Effects of Social Class and Sex as They Relate to Academic Achievement

Numerous studies have found social class differences in children's academic achievement. Rosen (1956) found that

middle class children as compared to working class children placed more emphasis on school performance, had a greater aspiration for success and a greater willingness to pursue those activities that make achievement possible. Two experiments by Hoffman, Mitos and Protz (1958) found middle class children as compared with working class children strive to a greater degree toward internalization of achievement. The study by Bachman (1970) reported that socioeconomic aspects appear to be of crucial importance in determining students' academic achievements. In his extensive study on the impact of family background and intelligence on 2000 tenth grade boys, Bachman found that socioeconomic level was the most significant factor affecting children's intelligence. Bachman also found socioeconomic level was related to the students' self-concept about their school ability, and high socioeconomic level was associated with above average self-esteem. Cordona (1969) identified certain relationships between achievement, acculturation, and alienation among Spanish-American sixth grade students. His study found that educational alienation of the Spanish-American students was associated with their academic achievement, level of acculturation, and socioeconomic status. Both racial and socioeconomic status differences in school success were studied by Rohwer et al. (1971). Rohwer and his associates reported that there were differences in school success between the high socioeconomic status (SES) white sample and the low socioeconomic status black sample: the mean percentile score for reading on the Standard Achievement Test was 71.7 for the high SES white sample but only 21.8 for the low SES black sample, a difference of some 50 points.

Starkey's (1978) study also reports that parental education and parental occupatioanl status are not predictive of the level of parental warmth. However, parental education and occupation are positively and significantly related to a child's academic performance. That is, parents with more education and higher occupational status tend to have children who perform better in school than children of parents with less education and lower occupational status.

In reviewing the literature on sex differences in academic achievement, Wright (1968) found that in the academic situation ". . . girls were more sensitive to and dependent upon social reinforcement than boys." That is, girls may place a higher value on academic achievement, have a higher expectancy for success, and a stronger desire to receive positive social reinforcement from parent and teachers. Anastasiow (1967) also found a positive relationship between self-concept and classroom performance for girls than for boys. Lester et al. (1972) found that girls in all grades markedly and consistently scored higher in the California Achievement Test than boys which may indicate that there is a tendency for girls to achieve higher in classroom performance. Catler and Palmer (1977) stated that boys, as opposed to girls, seemingly have more varied interests and might expect prestige and social recognition from behaviors other than academic achievement. Barwick and Arbuckle (1962) discovered a positive correlation for both boys and girls between perception of parental warmth and children's achievement. Covington (1966) confirmed that educationally successful children of both sexes tend to view

their parents as more accepting than do educationally unsuccessful children. However, contrary to these findings, Barton, Dielman, and Cattel (1974) reported no sex differences in their conclusions that high maternal warmth is positively correlated with academic achievement. While there exists some conflicting findings, overall, it seems reasonable to assume that there is a tendency for girls to achieve higher classroom academic performance than do boys.

CHAPTER III

KOREANS IN AMERICA: ETHNOGRAPHY AND PROBLEMS OF ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

The first portion of this chapter describes basic demographic and ethnographic characteristics of Korean-American families. The second part reviews problems inherent in the acculturation and assimilation processes undergone by immigrants of all nationalities. This topic represents broad assessments and implications of acculturation and assimilation processes. The third part of this chapter cites available recent studies on Korean-American immigrant children.

Demographic and Ethnographic Characteristics of Korean-American Families

It has been recorded that immigration from Korea to the United States began as early as 1902. However, few Koreans immigrated, and not more than 20,000 Koreans resided in America until 1965 when a new immigration law came into effect under the Kennedy administration. The number of Korean immigrants in the United States has grown rapidly since then, and it is estimated that there will be a half million Korean-Americans in the United States by the early 1980's. A large number of the Koreans in America are settled in urban areas such as Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, New York and Seattle, but

there are also many Koreans who live in the New England region with relatives or friends.

Although many Korean immigrants come from Korean middle or upper-middle class families, and shared a common life-style in Korea, these people are now engaged in the United States in a wide variety of occupations, ranging from highly-trained professional positions to menial labor. The current life-style of professionally-employed Korean-Americans is quite different from the life-style of Korean-Americans employed as laborers. The latter group of working class families often live in smaller, less comfortable quarters than do middle class Korean-Americans. Moreover, the relatively greater affluence of middle class families permits middle class mothers to stay home with their young children. Most working class mothers, in contrast, work long hours outside the home--usually at manual jobs requiring little or no skill or training and little knowledge of English. In these instances child care is left to older siblings or grandparents who may or may not be fully capable of caring for young children, or to fathers whose working hours do not conflict with those of their wives. A major study by Yoo (1979), reported in the Korean newspaper Minju-Tonga (1979), concluded that 88 percent of a sample of Korean-Americans with college degrees (obtained in Korean colleges) were underemployed because of their deficiency with the English language. Furthermore, some working class fathers also hold one or more part-time jobs in addition to their regular full-time employment.

Whether they work or not, both middle class and working class mothers complain that they have limited opportunities to

interact directly with members of the English-speaking community. This limitation is perceived as a problem more often by middle class mothers than by working class mothers because the latter tend to be more preoccupied with the concerns of everyday living. Nonetheless, more often than not, mothers in both social strata face difficulty with the English language, and that problem affects the ability of these mothers to communicate effectively with their predominantly English-speaking children. Difficulties such as these, along with feelings of uneasiness about their new cultural surroundings, sometimes motivate Korean-American mothers to cling tenaciously to the traditional Korean culture with which they feel comfortable and of which they are proud.

Children, on the other hand, spend much of their time with English-speaking peers and teachers. They usually learn to be reasonably comfortable with the English-speaking world around them, but they are often confronted with a growing sense of distance between themselves and their more "Korean" parents, as well as with conflicts between the values of their Korean parents and the values of the American society in which they live (Shin, 1971). For example, Korean moral and value systems are strongly influenced by Confucian philosophy. In the process of socialization, Korean children are taught to perceive themselves as an integral part of their extended family. They learn to respect elders and to support and depend on each other within the family. The social hierarchy, which is determined by age, sex, birth order and other cultural factors, is part of the enculturative process. Respect for elders

requires all Korean children to develop several forms of speech--an honorific form for persons of higher social status, another for equals and still another for those of a lower status. Such cultural conditioning induces Korean children to view society as stratified and people as socially unequal (Kim, 1977). Unlike most other American children, Korean-American children are taught to be submissive, obedient and loyal to the family. Obligations as a member of the family and of society are considered to be more important than one's own individualistic judgment and reason. According to Korean values, children's inner thoughts and emotions are not expected to be expressed overtly in public. Since by American standards Korean-American children are encouraged to be non-expressive, their opportunities to develop effective verbal skills are restricted. Consequently, Korean-American children tend to be timid and shy with their teachers and friends in the classroom and reticent in asserting their own views. This contrasts sharply with American values which emphasize greater openness and individualistic assertiveness.

Value conflicts such as these, along with a growing communication gap between parents and children, are heightened for working class Korean-American children because their parents work long hours and are less able than are middle class parents to attend to the psychological needs of their growing children. In addition, these working class parents--most of whom came from middle class families in Korea--perceive their current employment and life-style in a less favorable light than do middle class Korean-American parents, thereby

adding a sense of frustration to their already long list of problems. In the course of doing this research, the researcher also learned that there is an increasing number of reported crimes in the Los Angeles area committed by working class Korean-American youths gang members. These are the youths who are said to be dissatisfied with their parents and things in general (personal communication, Chang). Such existing problems by and large could well be related to persistent family disorganization, coupled with external peer influence. It is easily conceivable that, for many working class Korean-American children, family disorganization and downward mobility of parents in the United States may be the contributing factor for their perceived sense of neglect, alienation, and even hostility toward the parents as well as the outside world.

For these reasons it seemed likely that children living in working class Korean-American families would perceive their parents as significantly more indifferent, neglecting, perhaps hostile and aggressive and less warm--that is, overall as more rejecting--than would middle class Korean-American children. Insofar as such differences in perceived rejection exist between middle class and working class children, then--following the postulates of parental acceptance-rejection theory (Rohner, 1975; 1980) and symbolic interaction theory (Mead, 1934), to be described later--working class Korean-American children were expected to have a more impaired sense of self-esteem and self-adequacy than middle class children. According to these theories, children tend to view themselves as they imagine "significant others" view them. If children perceive

themselves as being unloved, they are likely to develop a sense of negative self-evaluation believing that they are unlovable, that they are inadequate people unworthy of love (Rohner, 1975; 1980).

Problems of Acculturation and Assimilation

The concept of acculturation has provided the major theoretical construct for many anthropological studies in America. The classic definition of "acculturation" was provided by a subcommittee on acculturation appointed by the Social Science Research Council in the mid 1930's. There it was stated that "acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups" (Redfield, Linton and Herskovits, 1936:149). However, some social scientists challenge this definition by noting that the term "acculturation" thus used designates only one dimension (cultural behavior) in the meeting of cultures. To this effect Gordon (1964) noted that "nothing is said about the social relationships of the two groups, the degree or nature of 'structural' intermingling, if any, the question of group self-identification, or any other possible variable in the situation." He went on to say that changes may take place in the culture of either of the two groups or there may be a reciprocal influence whereby the cultures of both groups are modified. Foster (1960) also finds limits in the definition of acculturation provided by Redfield and his associates.

In short, he argues that Redfield discusses the subject in overly broad terms. Foster contrasts the concept of acculturation, "the study of cultural transmission in process," with that of diffusion, "the study of achieved cultural transmission" (1948:525). Accordingly, Foster sees acculturation as the process, not the results, of the contact of cultures. His use of the term "results" implies that changes occur when different cultures come into contact with each other. Foster prefers to apply the term "process" to the sociocultural and psychological mechanisms whereby such changes are achieved.

In many instances, the terms "assimilation" and "acculturation" have been used interchangeably; at other times their meanings have conflicted or overlapped. It is generally understood that sociologists are more likely to describe the process and results of ethnic "meetings" with the term "assimilation," whereas cultural anthropologists describe it with the term "acculturation." An early and influential definition of assimilation was provided by the two sociologists Park and Burgess (1921:735). According to them:

> Assimilation is a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons or groups, and, by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life.

The above definition seems to include the additional criterion of social structural relationships which was omitted by the Social Science Research Committee in its definition of acculturation. This additional criterion in the assimilation process is further specified by Park and Burgess:

> As social contact initiates interaction, assimilation is its final perfect product. The nature of the social contacts is decisive in the process. Assimilation naturally takes place most rapidly where contacts are primary, that is, where they are the most intimate and intense, as in the area of touch relationship, in the family circle and in intimate congenial groups. Secondary contacts facilitate accommodations, but do not greatly promote assimilation. The contacts here are external and too remote (Park and Burgess, 1921:735).

Park, a prolific and seminal thinker, later went on to add:

> In the United States an immigrant is ordinarily considered assimilated as soon as he has acquired the language and the social ritual of the native community and can participate, without encountering prejudice, in the common life, economic and political. The common sense view of the matter is that an immigrant is assimilated as soon as he has shown that he can "get on in the country." This implies among other things that in all the ordinary affairs of life he is able to find a place in the community on the basis of his individual merits without invidious or qualifying reference to his racial origin or to his cultural inheritance (Park, 1930:281).

In recent writings, a number of sociologists have tended to equate "assimilation" with "acculturation." Thus Brewton Berry declares that:

> By assimilation we mean the process whereby groups with different cultures come to have a common culture. This means, of course, not merely such items of the culture as dress, knives and forks, language, food, sports, and automobiles, which are relatively easy to appreciate and acquire, but also those less tangible items such as values, memories, sentiments, ideas, and attitudes. Assimilation refers thus to the fusion of cultural heritage, and must be distinguished from amalgamation, which denotes the biological mixture of originally distinct racial strains (Berry, 1951:217).

Joseph Fichter defines assimilation as:

> . . . a social process through which two or more persons or groups accept and perform one another's patterns of behavior. We commonly talk about a person, or a minority category, being assimilated into a group or a society, but here again this must not be interpreted as a "one-sided" process. It is a relation of interaction in which both parties behave reciprocally even though one may be much more affected than the other (Fichter, 1969:65).

The doctoral thesis of Berkson, "Theories of Americazation: Critical Studies with Special Reference to the Jewish Group" (1920), became one of the most important studies on assimilation. It was in this study that Berkson developed his concept of cultural pluralism (Columbia University, 1920). In his later work, "The Ideal and the Community" (1956), Berkson maintained that "(t)he community theory seeks especially to avoid such a scheme of adjustment as would tend to force the individual to accept one solution as against another (Berkson, 1956).

Kallen, another proponent of Jewish causes, believed that "cultural pluralism is possible only in a democratic society whose institutions encourage individuality in groups, in persons, in temperaments, whose program liberates these individuals and guides them into a fellowship of freedom and cooperation" (Kallen, 1956). While accepting the existence of mainstream American culture, Kallen maintained that the dominant culture benefited from coexisting and interacting with other cultures (Kallen, 1915). Kallen's favorite slogan, "unity in diversity," can be as familiar and relevant a phrase today as it was in 1956.

In the last decades, there has been a renewed interest in the concept and nature of assimilation. Moynihan and Glazer (1957) concluded that the melting pot theory could no longer be supported because ethnic groups were shown to be experiencing "cultural identity" and "ethnic awareness" (Moynihan and Glazer, 1957). Their perspective has been widely supported by other social scientists such as Greely (1974), Greer (1974)

and Novak (1971) who all agree that the notion of the United States as a homogeneous society known as a "melting-pot" is false. Many authors since then have focused their attention on ethnicity and questioned theories of group assimilation. Novak (1971) denounced the melting pot theory because he felt that it did not allow immigrant groups to retain their ethnic mores and values. Baroni in his "Ethnicity and Public Policy" (1972) and Schraq in his "The Decline of the WASP" (1971) also have made strong cases for the probability of a revival of ethnicity and ethnic awareness. They both envision the development of a "new cultural pluralism" in today's American society.

The recent re-emergence of strong ethnic loyalties in a number of ethnic groups in the United States, and Congressional passage of the 1973 Ethnic Heritage Studies Bill both increase the opportunities for ethnic groups to preserve their ethnic and cultural awareness and values. The following excerpt from "The Multicultural Statement: No One Model American" (U.S. Commission on Multicultural Education, 1972) addresses the issues of cultural pluralism and multicultural education.

> Cultural pluralism rejects both assimilation and separation as ultimate goals. The positive elements of a culturally pluralistic society will be realized only if there is a healthy interaction among the diverse groups which comprise the nation's citizenry. Such interaction enables all to share in the richness of America's multicultural heritage. Such interaction provides a means for coping with intercultural tensions that are natural and cannot be avoided in a growing, dynamic society. To accept cultural pluralism is to recognize that no group lives in a vacuum--that each group exists as part of an interrelated whole (Commission on Multicultural Education, 1972).

The assimilation of any Asian immigrant group into its new environment can be analyzed by contrasting and comparing the cultures of Asia and the United States. Peterson (1971) in his book on Japanese-Americans states that the disparity between the cultures of Japan and the United States is greater in most respects than that found among the various nations of the Western world. He adds that the discrepancy is enormous between Japanese-Americans of the first generation and those of the second generation in the United States--in culture, occupational level, and social roles (Peterson, 1971:210).

Gordon (1964) contends that the various ethnic groups in America, except the groups closely associated with academic circles, tend to remain within their own ethnic environment and social class for most of their intimate or primary group relationships. Interaction with other ethnic groups on intimate and personal terms was infrequent and found to be primarily related to impersonal secondary group relationships (Gordon, 1964:234). With such considerations in mind and assuming that many Americans are concerned with problems of racial and ethnic prejudice and discrimination stemming from ignorance, insensitivity and indifference to other social groups, it seems obvious that the issue of ethnicity in America deserves serious examination.

Reflecting the heightened awareness of cultural pluralism in the United States today, this study focuses upon one of the many segments of the culturally diverse population of the United States--Korean-Americans.

Studies of Korean-American Children

No studies have been conducted so far that focus directly on the relationship between parental behavior and the self-evaluation of Korean-American children, or on the relationship between parental behavior and the academic performance of Korean-American children. However, some insights may be gained by reviewing related studies of Korean-American children in the United States.

Yoo (1977) measured the personality adjustment of Korean-American children from the Seattle area by using the California Psychological Inventory. His study found that if a child's parents are supportive and understanding about their former culture, the child is likely to have a better personality adjustment than do bicultural children from a home where the parents are ethnocentric with respect to one culture and reject the other culture. He added that the higher the level of education a parent has received, the greater will be his or her degree of acculturation. Also, more highly educated parents are more likely to have had exposure to English and to American customs and other aspects of American life. His data also revealed that socioeconomic status and the degree to which an immigrant becomes acculturated are highly related.

Chang (1975) examined differences in the self-concept of Black-American children and Korean-American children in the intermediate grades. The Korean-American children achieved higher mean scores than the Black-American children on three measures: behavior, intelligence and school status, and happiness and satisfaction. The Black-American children, however,

scored higher on physical appearance and attributes, and popularity. The Korean-American children had a more positive mean self-concept score than the Black-American children. Her study found that there were significant differences between the two groups on total self-concept as well as in behavior, intellectual and school status, physical appearance and attributes, popularity, and happiness and satisfaction.

Kim (1977) reported that Korean-American children have difficulty coping with the middle class values which prevail in many American schools. This in turn causes problems for Korean-American children adjustment in school, and many times, their "ways" are misunderstoood by teachers and school personnel (Kim, 1977).

In addition to the cultural conflict experienced by Korean-American children, problems with the English language are also reported. This phenomenon is understandable in light of the fact that, as is true of many other Asian languages, Korean grammar and phonology are drastically different from those of the English language.

A case study by Hahn and Dobb (1975) on Korean-American children in the San Francisco Unified School District examined the unique situation of Korean-American children there. Hahn and Dobbs reported that Korean children are the least-known segment of the diverse school population of the San Francisco area. "Korean? What's that?" is an often-asked question among classmates of Korean-American children in many classrooms (Hahn and Dobb, 1975:14). Many teachers are unaware of the ethnic or cultural dissimilarities that divide Koreans from Chinese

or Japanese. Korean children rarely see their cultural background identified, much less presented in the classroom. This situation renders Korean-American children in many cases difficult to relate to or share their values with American peers or teachers within the school environment.

The following is a student profile prepared by the Emergency School Aid Act (1974; 1975) bilingual staff of Korean-American students in the San Francisco school system. According to their ethnographic survey on Korean-American school children:

> He or she comes from a family of three children which arrived via staggered migration. He lives in a neighborhood with no or very few other Korean children. Korean is the language spoken at home. Only the father knows English. He prefers life in Korea to his present situation and would like to return immediately. At home he watches television and studies. He considers school in America to be too easy. Math is the favorite subject because it requires little English ability. He thinks there is not enough singing in American schools, but that there is too much fighting. Learning English is difficult for him. The newcomer's reading and writing in his native language begin to deteriorate due to lack of instruction. Parents almost unanimously want their children to continue study in Korean language and culture (Hahn and Dobb, 1975:15).

Song (1975) has reported some of the educational problems of Korean children in the United States. According to Song, the problems Korean-American children experience derive mainly from cultural and conceptual differences in language, customs and ways of problem solving. Song's study reinforces and belief that sudden environmental change may cause tremendous psychological stress that sometimes results in severe alienation and hostility. Yoshioka (1973) found that various factors--physical differences, the language barrier, cultural differences, and possible discriminatory treatment--make it

difficult for Korean-American children to adjust to the atmosphere of the American classroom, in which positive self-concept and self-expression are so vital (Yoshioka, 1973:19-22).

A statement made by the principal of a metropolitan school in Chicago best summarizes a more positive view of the future of Korean-American students. He said, "Korean students are [academically] competitive; they cause no problems within the school, and they will succeed" (Pitler, 1977:46). A teacher in the same school is cited as saying:

> . . . Korean-American students want to study hard to get ahead: they see the despair of their parents and want to avoid that. They believe climbing the ladder of success through education is the answer. Most of these children aspire to go to college, and definitely see this as the only way to get a job in the future, and they are extremely class conscious (Pitler, 1977: 44-47).

In summary, then, it seems that despite the numerous barriers which Korean-American students face in American schools, many Korean-American children are serious about schooling, and fully intend to take advantage of whatever educational opportunities are available.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes the sample and its major characteristics as well as the instruments and measurement processes that were used to assess the constructs of major interest in this research. These include perceived parental acceptance-rejection; reported self-esteem, self-adequacy, and self-evaluation; social class; academic performance or GPA; and relevant demographic data about each family.

Sample

A nationwide sample of 171 Korean-American families participated in this research. Working class and middle class families, defined earlier, were recruited from among the major centers in America where Korean-American families have settled. These centers include the metropolitan regions of Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, and New York City, as well as smaller cities including New Haven and Hartford, Connecticut; Springfield, Massachusetts; Kansas City, Kansas; Cleveland, Ohio; Albuquerque, New Mexico; and Knoxville, Tennessee. Families with potential for inclusion in this research were identified within each region by consulting members of Korean churches, university and college communities, and Korean-American associations. In all, 43 middle class boys, 45 middle

class girls, 46 working class boys, and 37 working class girls responded. The Korean-American children participating in this study ranged in age from seven to thirteen years. Their mean was ten years. Both fathers and mothers were present in all 88 middle class families, but two fathers were absent, both deceased, in the 83 working class Korean-American families. The mean number of persons living in the households ranging from two to ten persons of both social classes was 4.6.

Occupational and Educational Backgrounds of Sample Families

For the purposes of this study, a Korean-American family's social class, as defined earlier, was determined by the present occupation of the father, regardless of his educational background. Information about occupation and education was drawn from the child's background data described later. Table A in the Appendix lists the occupations of middle class Korean-American mothers and fathers. All 88 (100%) middle class Korean-American fathers were employed, but only 13 (15%) of the middle class mothers were engaged in outside employment. As shown in Table A, 73 (83%) of the middle class Korean-American fathers held professional jobs, while 15 (17%) of the middle class fathers were engaged in managerial occupations.

Table B in the Appendix lists the occupations of the working class Korean-American families. All 81 (100%) working class fathers were employed either in manual labor or semi-skilled occupations. In contrast to the small percentage

of middle class working mothers, 54 (65%) of the working class mothers were also engaged in semi-skilled manual jobs or in small independent businesses.

As Table C in the Appendix illustrates, 86 (97%) of the middle class fathers had one to four years of college education; 75 percent of these men had graduate or professional training. On the other hand, 66 (75%) of the middle class Korean-American mothers had one to four years of college education, but of these, only 13 (20%) had graduate or professional training. Fifty-six (69%) of the working class fathers had one to four years of college education, but only 21 (26%) of these fathers had any graduate or professional training. Data regarding the education of working class mothers showed that 33 (39%) of the working class mothers had one to four years of college education, and only two (2%) of these women had any graduate or professional training. Forty-two (50%) working class mothers had graduated from high school, and eight (11%) mothers had degrees from vocational or commercial schools.

Instruments and Definition of Scales

Two self-report questionnaires were used in this study, the Parental Acceptance-Rejection Questionnaire (PARQ), and the Personality Assessment Questionnaire (PAQ). Both instruments were developed for cross-cultural or cross-ethnic use. The PARQ and PAQ are both constructed in such a way that a respondent first determines if an item is basically true or basically untrue. If a statement is basically true then the respondent decides whether it is "almost always true," or

only "sometimes true." If an item is basically untrue then the respondent decides whether it is "rarely true," or "almost never true." The items are scored on a four-point Likert-like scale with "almost always true" assigned a score of four, and "almost never true" assigned a score of one. A number of individual responses on both questionnaires must be reverse scored.

Using procedures recommended by the American Psychological Association, the validity and reliability of both instruments has been found to be adequate (Rohner et al., 1978a; 1978b; 1980). A detailed description, definition and operationalization of the scales on each instrument are available in Rohner et al. (1978a; 1978b; 1980).

Parental Acceptance-Rejection Questionnaire (PARQ)

Two versions of the PARQ (see Appendix) were employed in this research: (1) the Child PARQ measures the way children ages seven through thirteen years perceive their mothers' treatment of them in terms of four scales: (a) perceived parental warmth and affection (20 items), (b) perceived parental hostility and aggression (15 items), (c) perceived parental indifference and neglect (15 items), and (d) perceived parental undifferentiated rejection (10 items); (2) the Mother PARQ assesses the mother's perception of her treatment of her child in terms of the same four scales.

The parental warmth scale assesses the extent to which the parent-child relationship is characterized by perceived warmth and affection. Warmth and affection may be manifested

verbally by praise, approval and offers of comfort or consolation. Items designed to measure perceived parental warmth and affection include, "My mother says nice things about me" (Child PARQ), and "I say nice things about my child" (Mother PARQ).

The parental hostility and aggression scale measures the extent to which the mother is perceived to be hostile and/or aggressive toward her child. Parental hostility is an internal or emotional reaction of anger, enmity, or resentment; whereas aggression is any overt action which is intended to physically or verbally hurt someone or something. Aggressive and hostile parents may express themselves verbally or physically. Test items designed to measure perceived parental hostility and aggression include, "My mother says many unkind things to me" (Child PARQ), and "I say unkind things to my child" (Mother PARQ).

The parental indifference and neglect scale measures the extent to which the mother is perceived as being indifferent and/or neglecting of her child. Neglecting (or indifferent) parents are seen as showing a restricted concern for their children's welfare or development. Neglecting or indifferent parents may be seen as cold, unsympathetic, inaccessible and unresponsive to the child. Test items illustrating perceived parental indifference and neglect include, "My mother forgets things I think she should remember" (Child PARQ), and "I forget events my child thinks I should remember" (Mother PARQ).

The parental undifferentiated rejection scale refers to conditions where parents are perceived as withdrawing love

from the child (i.e., they are perceived as rejecting the child), but where such perceived rejection does not clearly reflect either perceived aggression/hostility, or perceived neglect/indifference per se. Test items illustrating perceived parental undifferentiated rejection include, "My mother sees me as a big bother" (Child PARQ), and "My child is a burden for me" (Mother PARQ).

Responses on the PARQ range from a possible low of 60--indicating maximum perceived acceptance--to a possible high of 240, indicating maximum perceived rejection. It should be remembered that the higher the scores, the more rejecting parents are perceived to be; the lower the PARQ scores, the warmer parents are perceived to be. In this study the spread of PARQ scores for the Korean-American children ranged from a low of 66 to a high of 169, with a mean score of 118 (SD= 23.9).

Personality Assessment Questionnaire (PAQ)

The second self-report questionnaire used in this study, the PAQ (see Appendix), measures the way seven through thirteen year old children perceive their own personality/behavioral dispositions. The PAQ has seven scales which are designed to measure seven personality and behavioral dispositions which have been associated the world over with parental acceptance-rejection (Rohner, 1975; 1980). In this study, however, only the self-esteem and self-adequacy scales were used. Each scale contains six items. The structure of the PAQ is the same as the structure of the PARQ in terms of such characteristics as response-options. Hence, high scores

indicate negative self-esteem and negative self-adequacy, respectively.

As indicated earlier, self-esteem is a global, emotional evaluation of oneself in terms of worth. Positive feelings of self-esteem imply that one likes or approves of oneself, accepts oneself, is comfortable with oneself, is rarely disappointed in oneself, and perceives oneself as being a person worthy of respect. Test items illustrating positive self-esteem include, "I think I am a good person and other people should think so too."

Self-adequacy is an overall self-evaluation of one's competence to perform daily tasks adequately, to cope satisfactorily with daily problems, and to satisfy one's own needs. Persons with positive feelings of self-adequacy view themselves as being capable and successful, or capable of success in the things they set out to do. Test items illustrating positive self-adequacy include, "I feel I can do the things that I want as well as most people."

Since the self-esteem scale and the self-adequacy scale correlated strongly with each other ($r=.55$, $p < .001$) they were summed to create a composite variable of "self-evaluation." Self-evaluation scores range from a possible low of 12 points--indicating maximum positive self-evaluation--to a possible high of 48 points, indicating maximum negative self-evaluation. Within these theoretical limits, Korean-American children in this sample ranged from a low of 12 points to a high of 37 points, with a mean score of 23.4 ($SD=5.6$) indicating that, overall, perceived self-evaluation of Korean-American children appears to be more positive than negative.

Academic Data

Children's grades were obtained from each child's respective school records, via parents. These grades were used to measure academic performance, or grade point average (GPA). Each child's grade point average for Fall, 1978 was computed for four major subject areas, including reading, language arts, social studies, and mathematics.

Since each school employed a somewhat different grading system, all letter grades were converted to number scores ranging from a high of 4 (equivalent to grade A) to a low of 0 (equivalent to Failure). The specific measures of academic performance (reading, language arts, math, and social studies) intercorrelate highly enough to permit their being summed, thus creating a composite variable called "academic performance" or GPA. This new variable of GPA has a mean of 13.2 (SD=2.4) with a range of 5 to 16. In qualitative terms, the mean GPA of 13.2 indicates that Korean-American children in the sample are performing at an overall level of approximately B or B+.

Demographic Data

Information about the sex and age of respondents was drawn from two items on the Background Data Questionnaire (BDQ) attached to the PARQ. The BDQ (see Appendix) requested information regarding family size and composition, birth order, age of subject and his or her siblings, and parents' occupation and educational background.

Procedures

As indicated earlier, the present research design required the administration of two self-report questionnaires (the PARQ and PAQ), the collection of information on the Background Data Questionnaire and the recording of students' grades as rated by classroom teachers. As the first step, the author, who is a native speaker of Korean, contacted personal Korean-American friends living throughout the United States in those cities and suburbs where Korean-Americans are concentrated. The author's request for the assistance of these "representatives" to distribute the questionnaires and collect them several weeks later was readily accepted by telephone communication. It was learned at this time that inclusion of the version of the PARQ and PAQ translated into Korean would not be necessary since all potential participants would be selected mainly from bilingual (English-Korean) Korean-American children.

Following this, 15 to 20 sets of questionnaires were sent out to each representative, each set including both the PARQ and PAQ as well as the BDQ. Careful instructions and suggestions were given to all representatives regarding the local distribution, completion, and collection of the questionnaires. More specifically, recommendations were made that the representatives contact the subjects through Korean-American churches, organizations, or private homes. Each representative was directed to draw approximately half of their subjects from middle class families, and the other half from working class families, disregarding an equal distribution

by sex. All representatives were also advised to provide each participating mother with a comprehensive explanation of the purpose of the research in order to elicit her full cooperation.

Those subjects contacted through Korean-American churches or organizations completed the questionnaires under the observations of the representatives; those reached at home were given two weeks to complete the questionnaires with instructions for the mothers to give as little assistance as possible and to let the children complete the questionnaires in more than one sitting if necessary. These mothers were contacted by phone towards the end of the two week period to be reminded of the date when the data would be collected.

The completion of the data collection and the return of the data to the researcher by the representative took four to twelve weeks. Overall, 15 to 20 sets of questionnaires were collected by the representatives of large metropolitan regions, and 5 to 10 sets of data were collected by the representatives of smaller city regions. The return rate was nearly 80 percent for the working class samples and approximately 92 percent for the middle class samples.

CHAPTER V

RESULTS

The main objective of this study is to test eight hypotheses regarding the relationship between perceived parental acceptance-rejection, children's self-evaluation, and academic performance of Korean-American boys and girls across two social classes (working class and middle class). This section presents results of the analyses of these hypotheses followed by results from several other tests which are pertinent to the overall objectives of this research.

Test of Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1 states that the more accepting children perceive their parents to be, the more positive the reported self-evaluation of both boys and girls in both social classes.

As predicted, a significant correlation is found between perceived parental acceptance-rejection and self-evaluation ($r=.57$, $p < .001$). After controlling for the effects of sex (males versus female) and social class (middle class versus working class), this correlation is reduced to $pr=.47$ ($p < .001$). Thus it appears that perceived acceptance-rejection is associated with about 22 percent of the variance in Korean-American children's self-evaluation, after controlling for the sex and social class of the children. These results support Hypothesis 1.

Hypothesis 2 states that the more positive the reported self-evaluation of children is, the higher the academic performance of both boys and girls in both social classes.

As predicted, a significant correlation is observed between perceived self-evaluation and children's academic performance as measured by grade point average (GPA) ($r=.43$, $p < .001$). When the effects of sex and social classes are controlled, this correlation decreases to $pr=.27$ ($p < .001$). This partial correlation reveals that, after controlling for the effects of sex and social class, perceived self-evaluation is associated with about 7 percent of the variance in Korean-American children's GPA. These results support Hypothesis 2.

Hypothesis 3 states that the more accepting children perceive their parents to be, the higher the academic performance of both boys and girls in both social classes.

As predicted, a significant correlation is found between these variables ($r=-.39$, $p < .005$). After controlling for the effects of sex and social class, there is a significant though weaker correlation between perceived parental acceptance-rejection and children's GPA ($pr=-.21$, $p < .001$). Thus it appears that after controlling for the effects of sex and social class, perceived acceptance-rejection is associated with about 4 percent of the variance in Korean-American children's GPA. These results support Hypothesis 3.

Hypothesis 4 states that in comparison to the effect of either perceived parental acceptance-rejection or self-evaluation individually, the joint effect of perceived parental acceptance-rejection and positive self-evaluation

maximizes both boys' and girls' grade point averages in both social classes.

As noted above, the simple correlation between perceived acceptance-rejection and children's academic performance (GPA) is r=.39, and the simple correlation between self-evaluation and GPA is r=.43. When perceived parenting and self-evaluation are combined additively, the multiple correlation between these two variables and children's GPA rises to r=.46 ($p < .001$). Thus it appears that perceived acceptance-rejection and self-evaluation jointly are associated with approximately 21 percent of the variance in children's academic achievement as measured by school performance. These results support Hypothesis 4.

Hypothesis 5 states that regardless of the level of perceived parental acceptance-rejection, in both social classes girls tend to achieve a higher grade point average than do boys.

In order to test this hypothesis, a one-way analysis of variance was performed, with TPARQ covaried. Results show that there is no significant difference in GPA between boys and girls in either social class $F(1,170)=1.27$, $p < .10$. The mean grade point average for Korean-American girls is 13.4, and the mean grade point average for boys is 13.0. These results fail to support Hypothesis 5. Thus it appears that Korean-American girls do not perform significantly better in school than do boys.

Hypothesis 6 states that middle class Korean-American children (both boys and girls) perceive their parents as being

significantly warmer than do working class Korean-American children.

In order to test this hypothesis, a one-way analysis of variance was performed. Results show that there is a significant difference in perceived parental acceptance-rejection between middle class and working class Korean-American children $F(1,170)=45.3$, $p < .001$. The mean PARQ score for working class Korean-American children is 120.3, and the mean PARQ score for middle class children is 98.2. These results support Hypothesis 6.

Hypothesis 7 states that the self-evaluation of middle class Korean-American children (both boys and girls) is significantly higher than the self-evaluation of working class Korean-American children.

In order to test this hypothesis, a one-way analysis of variance was performed. As expected, a significant difference is found in perceived self-evaluation between middle class and working class Korean-American children $F(1,170)=26.0$, $p < .001$. The mean self-evaluation score for working class Korean-American children is 26.2, and the mean self-evaluation score for middle class Korean-American children is 20.8. These results support Hypothesis 7.

Hypothesis 8 states that the mean grade point average of middle class Korean-American children (both boys and girls) is significantly higher than the mean grade point average of working class Korean-American children.

In order to test this hypothesis, a one-way analysis of variance was performed. Results show that a significant

difference is found in GPA between the middle class and working class Korean-American children $F(1,170)=46.4$, $p < .001$. The mean GPA score for working class Korean-American children is 12.1, and the mean GPA score for middle class Korean-American children is 14.3. These results support Hypothesis 8.

In the following pages, additional information and results from other tests which are pertinent to the overall objectives of this research are discussed and illustrated.

Additional Analysis of Data

Perceived Parental Acceptance-Rejection

Examination of the distribution of PARQ scores illustrated in Table 1 indicates that 163 (95%) Korean-American children in the sample perceive their parents as basically accepting. Only eight (5%) of the children in the sample perceive themselves as being rejected by their mothers. It should be noted that the percentage of Korean-American children in this study who report themselves to be rejected is lower than typically found in most studies of mainstream American school children where 7 to 10 percent of the children commonly perceive themselves to be rejected (Rohner, personal communication).

Social Class Differences in Perceived Parental Acceptance-Rejection and Self-Evaluation

A one-way analysis of variance was used to compare working class and middle class Korean-American families in terms of children's perception of their mothers' acceptance-rejection behavior and children's perceptions of their own self-esteem, self-adequacy, and overall self-evaluation.

TABLE 1

DISTRIBUTION OF PARQ SCORES

PARQ Scores Achieved	Number of Cases	Percent	Cumulative Frequency
60- 69	6	3.5	3.5
70- 79	15	8.8	12.3
80- 89	22	12.9	25.2
90- 99	23	13.5	38.7
100-109	26	15.2	53.9
110-119	21	12.3	66.2
120-129	24	14.0	80.2
130-139	19	11.1	91.1
140-149	7	4.0	95.1
150-159	4	2.3	97.4
160-169	4	2.3	100.0

n=171

The means and standard deviations for these tests are presented in Table 2.

Examination of Table 2 reveals significant ($p < .001$) differences between the mean scores for middle class and working class children on all PARQ scales measuring children's perceptions of their mothers' rejection-acceptance behavior, and on the PAQ scales measuring children's self-esteem, self-adequacy, and overall self-evaluation. As shown in the table, even though children in both social classes perceive

TABLE 2

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF PARQ SCALES, SELF-ADEQUACY, SELF-ESTEEM, AND SELF-EVALUATION FOR MIDDLE CLASS AND WORKING CLASS KOREAN-AMERICAN CHILDREN

Variables	Middle Class (n=88) $\bar{X}$	SD	Working Class (n=83) $\bar{X}$	SD	F	p
PARQ						
Low Warmth	29	6.0	35	9.0	26.0	$p < .001$
Hostility	25	6.4	32	8.1	39.8	$p < .001$
Neglect	25	5.9	30	6.5	28.9	$p < .001$
Undiff. Rejection	18	4.9	22	5.0	23.6	$p < .001$
Total PARQ	98	20.6	120	21.7	46.4	$p < .001$
PAQ						
Negative Self-Adeq.	11	3.0	13	2.7	27.7	$p < .001$
Negative Self-Esteem	10	2.5	13	3.1	48.9	$p < .001$
Negative Self-Eval.	21	4.9	26	5.0	50.0	$p < .001$

Note: On the PARQ, the following mean scale-scores reveal parental rejection: Parental warmth 50; hostility/aggression 37.5; indifference/neglect 37.5; and undifferentiated parental rejection 35. On the PAQ scales, a mean scale-score of 15.5 indicates negative self-esteem, and negative self-adequacy. A mean score of 31 indicates overall negative self-evaluation.

their mothers as being basically accepting, middle class children perceive themselves as being significantly ($p < .001$) more accepted on all four PARQ scales than do working class children. Also, a one-way analysis of variance shows that working class Korean-American children display

greater signs of negative self-esteem ($F(1,170)=50.0$, $p < .001$), negative self-adequacy ($F(1,170)=27.8$, $p < .001$), and overall negative self-evaluation ($F(1,170)=50.0$, $p < .001$) than do middle class children. Finally, a significant sample-wide correlation exists between children's perceptions of maternal acceptance-rejection as measured by the total PARQ and children's self-esteem ($r=.51$, $p < .001$) and self-adequacy ($r=.50$, $p < .001$), and overall self-evaluation ($r=.57$, $p < .001$).

Relationship Between Perceived Parental Acceptance-Rejection and Academic Performance (GPA)

As noted earlier, a significant correlation exists between overall perceived parental acceptance-rejection and children's GPA ($r=.39$, $p < .005$). Table 3 provides a more detailed look at this relationship. As shown there, both low warmth and composite rejection (i.e., the sum of the Hostility, Neglect, and Undifferentiated Rejection scales on the PARQ) are related significantly to GPA ($r=-.30$, $p < .005$ and $r=-.37$, $p < .005$ respectively), but after controlling for the influence of children's sex and social class, it appears that composite rejection accounts for a somewhat greater percentage of the variance (4%) in children's GPA than does low warmth (2.5%).

Social Class Differences in Academic Performance (GPA)

As noted earlier, a significant difference ($p < .001$) is found between the mean total (overall) GPA of middle class children ($\bar{X}=14.3$) and working class children ($\bar{X}=12.1$). Table 4 provides a more detailed look at this relationship

TABLE 3

SIMPLE AND PARTIAL CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PARENTAL WARMTH AND COMPOSITE REJECTION AS THEY RELATE TO CHILDREN'S GPA

Correlation Between GPA and:	Simple Correlation (Zero Order)	p	Partial Correlation (Controlling for Sex and SES)	p
Warmth[1]	-.30	.005	-.16	.042
Composite Rejection[2]	-.37	.005	-.20	.008

[1]"Warmth" refers to the PARQ warmth scale only.

[2]"Composite Rejection" refers to the sum of the three "rejection" scales, viz. hostility/aggression, indifference/neglect and undifferentiated rejection.

TABLE 4

MEAN AND STANDARD DEVIATION IN GPA BY ACADEMIC SUBJECT AMONG MIDDLE CLASS AND WORKING CLASS KOREAN-AMERICAN CHILDREN

Academic Subject	Middle Class (n=88) $\bar{X}$	SD	Working Class (n=83) $\bar{X}$	SD	F	p
Reading	3.6	0.5	2.9	0.7	48.6	$p < .001$
Math	3.6	0.5	3.2	0.7	20.8	$p < .001$
Language Arts	3.6	0.5	2.9	0.8	38.2	$p < .001$
Social Studies	3.4	0.6	3.0	0.8	14.5	$p < .001$

Note: All letter grades were converted to numerical scores ranging from A = 4, to F = 0.

by showing children's mean GPA in each academic subject within both social classes. From the table it is clear that middle class Korean-American children perform significantly ($p < .001$) better than working class children in all four subject areas.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter summarizes the major conclusions of this research, and examines the results of the research in relation to prior research findings. The final part of the chapter consists of a set of suggested recommendations for future studies and examines some areas which remain unresolved.

Major Conclusions

The results of this study are consistent with the expectations of parental acceptance-rejection theory, which postulates that children all over the world are likely to develop negative self-evaluations insofar as they perceive themselves to be rejected by their parents. Research findings have generally emphasized the influence of children's self-evaluation and parental warmth on academic performance.

Perceived parental warmth, as measured by the PARQ, was found in this study to be significantly correlated with reported self-esteem, self-adequacy, and overall self-evaluation among Korean-American children. The results reveal that when children report their mothers to be generally warm, caring, and non-rejecting, the children are likely to have a more positive self-evaluation. Similarly, when children perceive

their mothers to be both less warm and more hostile, neglecting, and generally rejecting, they are likely to develop negative self-evaluations.

The results of this study also demonstrate a positive association between perceived parental acceptance-rejection and children's academic performance as measured by GPA for both girls and boys in both working class and middle class Korean-American families. That is, perception of parental acceptance tended to enhance the academic performance of children in both social classes. A significant correlation between Korean-American children's overall self-evaluation and academic performance (GPA) was also discovered, signifying that the more positive is the children's perceived self-evaluation, the higher the children's grade point averages were likely to be.

The joint influence of perceived parental warmth and reported self-evaluation was found to have a greater effect on grade point average than either parenting or self-evaluation individually. In other words, acceptance-rejection and self-evaluation together explained a greater proportion of variance in GPA than did either acceptance-rejection or self-evaluation alone.

While sex differences in academic performance have been reported before in the literature, no relationship was found in this study between Korean-American children's sex and their academic performance (GPA). The results of this study revealed that, overall, girls did not achieve higher GPA scores than did boys in the major subject areas such as reading, math, language arts, and social studies.

Lastly, the results of this study demonstrated that social class differences are found in Korean-American children's perceptions of parental acceptance-rejection, reported self-evaluation, and achieved school grades. More specifically, compared to working class Korean-American children, the middle class Korean-American children perceived their parents to be generally warmer than did working class Korean-American children. They reported more positive self-evaluation, and achieved higher grade point averages than did working class Korean-American children. Thus, for Korean-American children at least, social class seems to be predictive of differences in perception of parental acceptance-rejection, self-evaluation, and academic performance.

Results of Research in Relation to Prior Research Findings

The importance of examining the parent-child relationship hardly needs justification. This most basic of all relationships not only shapes the character of the individual child as a member of a family unit but influences the child's nature as a member of society in general. With this point of view in mind, the present study was an attempt to measure the way Korean-American children perceived their parents in terms of acceptance-rejection, and relate this variable to perceived self-evaluation and academic performance. Children's rather than parents' reports formed the basis of this research since many researchers now agree that parental reports are a less direct and perhaps a more biased source of information than a child's perception of parental acceptance-

rejection (Harburg, 1970; Robbins, 1963; Yarrow, 1963; Rohner, 1980; Rohner, Hahn, Rohner, 1980).

The results of this study may be compared with research findings cited in Chapter II. As was shown there, children who were treated harshly, indifferently, and disrespectfully by their parents showed lower self-esteem than children who were not so treated (Coopersmith, 1967; Rosenberg, 1963). A cross-cultural survey reported by Rohner (1975) also confirmed the presence of a positive relationship between parental acceptance-rejection and self-evaluation. The results of the present study on the relation between parental acceptance-rejection and self-evaluation support the findings of previous research. This study reports that the Korean-American children's perceived parental acceptance-rejection is associated with about 22 percent of the variance in Korean-American children's self-evaluation. Ninety-five percent of the Korean-American children in the sample reported their parents as basically accepting, and the percentage of Korean-American children in this study who report themselves to be rejected is lower than is typically found in studies of American school children where it is common to find 7 to 10 percent of the children to perceive themselves as rejected (Rohner, personal communication).

In this research, a mean scale score of 31 indicates negative "self-evaluation." Interestingly, Korean-Americans achieved a mean score of 23.5 indicating that overall, Korean-American children display generally positive self-esteem, self-adequacy, and self-evaluation. However, it should be

noted that there was a significant difference in self-evaluation scores between middle class and working class children, working class children showing lower overall self-evaluation than do middle class Korean-American children.

Numerous studies have dealt with the relationship between parental warmth and children's academic achievement. These studies demonstrated that the warmth dimension of parental behavior contributes significantly to children's intellectual development. For example, Barwick and Arbuckle (1962), Starkey (1978), Clarke-Stewart (1973), Haide (1970), and Covington (1966) discovered a positive correlation, for both sexes, between perception of parental warmth and children's academic performance. The results of the present study are consistent with these studies.

Although some studies have shown no relationship between "self-concept" and children's academic achievement (Badwal, 1969; Green, 1971; LaBell, 1970), overall, most studies have demonstrated that such a relationship exists (Caplin, 1969; Brookover, and Thomas, 1963; Lamy, 1965; Campbell, 1965). This study too found a strong association between children's perceived self-evaluation and their school performance, for both sexes, across both social classes. Judging from the present study, it appears that about 7 percent of the variance in children's grade point averages may be explained in terms of their perceived self-evaluation. Interestingly, Korean-American children achieved a mean GPA score equivalent to a B, which seems rather high if we consider "C" as the commonly accepted "average" grade. Variables

related to Korean-American children's academic performance will be discussed further in the final section of this chapter.

Finally, as reported earlier, no sex difference was found in GPA between boys and girls in either social class. This result is inconsistent with many previous studies which have reported sex differences in children's academic performance, at least as measured by achievement test scores (e.g., Maccoby, 1966; Crandall et al., 1964; Lester et al., 1972). Lester (1972), for example, found that academic performance, as measured through scores on the California Achievement Test, was markedly and consistently higher for girls in all grades from kindergarten through fifth grade. Other studies have suggested that boys tend to perform better than girls on tests of numerical ability and spatial concepts (Aiken, 1973; Maccoby, 1966; Sears, 1970), whereas girls usually excel on verbally oriented subject matter.

In this study, regardless of parenting, Koren-American boys did not differ significantly from Korean-American girls in terms of grades in any subject. This lack of differential in the academic performance of the sexes raises some interesting questions. Of primary interest here is the determination of the cause for the equal academic performance of Korean-American boys and girls. A plausible explanation why Korean-American boys performed equally as well as girls in GPA may lie in the fact that Korean-American parents tend to have considerably higher expectations regarding their son's academic achievement than they do regarding their daughter's. This parental attitude stems from Confucian philosophy.

Confucianism, the ideas which were derived from the teachings of Confucius (551?-479? B.C.), has been the single largest influence on Chinese society and neighboring countries such as Japan, Korea , and Vietnam for many centuries. Confucian philosophy has influenced these societies in areas as diverse as education, government, general attitudes toward one's correct behavior and the individual's duty to society. The early Confucianists were concerned with the reconstruction and preservation of the increasingly chaotic Chinese society. They believed that the key to an orderly society could be found in educating the man (not the woman), for men were the central figures in their society. Confucius defined a "gentleman" as one who continuously pursued knowledge, used this knowledge to obey and worship his ruler, and who highly respected his elders, particularly the father. The attitude of the man being the central figure of society also made him the center of the family structure. He was expected to achieve a level of education which would allow him to promote the family's social position.

Such philosophy derived from the teachings of Confucius still seems to prevail in the homes of Korean-American families. There appears to be a natural tendency for Korean-American parents to be more concerned with the educational success of their sons than with that of their daughters. Thus, considering the importance that Korean-American parents attach to their male children's academic success and the resultant pressure upon Korean-American boys tc succeed academically, it is not surprising that Korean-American boys

performed as well as they did on their school grades as their female counterparts.

A possible weakness in this study's assessment of academic performance is the evaluation criteria used. While the indicator commonly used in most studies is some type of achievement test score, this study used grade point average as an indicator of academic performance. The "ceiling effect" of letter grading limits the possible range of variation in calculating achievement. For example, two students may receive the highest letter grade available and yet be of considerably different capabilities. It is theoretically possible that, in a group of six children receiving an "A" in a given class, one will be much more advanced in his or her aptitude or overall achievement test score than the other five yet there is no letter designation to indicate such excellence.

Other questions also arise when examining the overall academic performance of Korean-American children, especially when they are compared with their English-speaking peers. For example, if English is the second language of many Korean-American children, are the Korean-American children really learning as much as (or more than) other English-speaking children of comparable ages? Furthermore, considering the less than ideal family situations of many working class children, the overall grade point average appears to be equally high as that of other American peers which in turn prompts the question, why aren't they doing more poorly in school? These questions remain unanswered and need further examination.

Recommendations for Future Research

When designing future research, the experience of this investigation points toward being a research methodology which includes carefully constructed interviews with the subjects as an integral part of the testing instrument. Data collection methods via interviews are valuable because they permit collecting information directly from people. If we wish to obtain information about someone or something, we can ask the respondent questions directly through interviews. Interviewing also allows drawing out needed information through using relatively direct or moderately indirect questions when the respondents are unwilling, reluctant or unable to give required information readily and directly. For example, information on attitudes toward their personal relationships as well as other intimate areas.

Further, many researchers agree that the interview has valuable qualities that objective tests and scales and even behavioral observations do not possess (Kerlinger, 1973). When directed carefully, interviewing is flexible and adaptable to individual situations and often can be the only available method to obtain the needed information. It is also especially suitable for research with children (Yarrow, 1960). For example, an interviewer can repeat or rephrase the question to a child during the interview which otherwise is an impossible task. Many researchers (e.g., Kerlinger, 1973) maintain that, most importantly, the interview permits probing into the context and reasons for answers to questions. In addition, a longitudinal study that will update

the children's academic achievements in his adult years is also recommended if we are to assess the accuracy and consistency of the findings of this study.

A possible serious limitation of the research presented here is the difficulty in determining the comparability of children's academic grades in different schools. For example, an achieved grade of B in an exclusive suburban school might not be comparable to a B from a school in an economically depressed inner city area. Examination of the grading systems of the schools involved will help to assess the overall validity of the achieved grades of the sample as indicators of academic performance. It is recognized, however, that such a procedure will be an extremely difficult and time-consuming task on the part of the researcher, especially if the researcher is conducting the study on a nationwide scale.

Finally, the inclusion of the achievement test scores in future research will more accurately assess the children's academic performance. This will not only allow, to some extent, adjustments to be made for geographical differences, but also standardize the indicator for the variable, avoiding the inconsistencies of classroom and educational institution grading.

In summary, this study has demonstrated a positive intercorrelation among three variables of Korean-American children: parental acceptance-rejection, self-evaluation in terms of self-esteem and self-adequacy, and academic performance. A positive correlation was found between the

children's perception of parental acceptance-rejection and their self-evaluation. In addition, positive self-evaluation among Korean-American children was associated with a higher level of academic performance than was negative self-evaluation. Moreover, perceived parental acceptance-rejection was related significantly to the level of children's academic achievement. Finally, as predicted by the parental acceptance-rejection theory, perceived parental acceptance-rejection and overall self-evaluation jointly had a greater affect on academic performance than either variable individually.

Social class was also shown to affect perceived parental acceptance-rejection, self-evaluation, and academic performance of Korean-American children. That is, middle class Korean-American children perceived their parents as being warmer than did Korean-American working class children. Furthermore, middle class children displayed both more positive self-evaluation (self-esteem and self-adequacy) and higher levels of academic performance than did working class children. The predicted difference in academic performance between Korean-American boys and girls, however, was not supported. With this single exception, all seven hypotheses guiding this research were supported. Thus, some of the major postulates of parental acceptance-rejection theory receive support in a national sample of Korean-American families, and new evidence is provided showing the interrelationship between perceived parental acceptance-

rejection, children's self-evaluation, and academic achievement as they are affected by gender and social class.

APPENDIX

The material included in this Appendix has been mentioned earlier in the "Results" section. These methods include:

Tables

Table A	Parental Occupation of Middle Class Korean-American Families
Table B	Parental Occupation of Working Class Korean-American Families
Table C	Education of Korean-American Mothers and Fahters
Table D	Household Composition of Middle Class and Working Class Korean-American Families

Questionnaires

Background Data Questionnaire

Children's School Grades Collection Sheet

Researcher's Letter to the Participating Mothers

Parental Acceptance-Rejection Questionnaire (PARQ)

Personality Assessment Questionnaire (PAQ)

TABLE A

PARENTAL OCCUPATION OF MIDDLE CLASS
KOREAN-AMERICAN FAMILIES

Occupation	Number of Cases		Percent	
	Father[a]	Mother[b]	Father[a]	Mother[b]
Professional				
Accountant	9	1	10	1
Architect, Artist	5	2	6	2
Church Minister	4	0	4	0
Engineer	15	0	17	0
Librarian	1	3	1	3
Physician	13	3	15	3
Professor, Scientist	8	0	9	0
School Teacher	0	4	0	5
Technician	18	0	21	0
Managerial				
Sales (Export-Import)	6	0	7	0
Self-employed (Large Firm)	1	0	1	0
Self-employed (Other)	8	0	1	0
No Occupation (Unemployed)	0	75	0	85

[a] n=88

[b] n=88

TABLE B

PARENTAL OCCUPATION OF WORKING CLASS
KOREAN-AMERICAN FAMILIES

Occupation	Number of Cases		Percent	
	Father[a]	Mother[b]	Father[a]	Mother[b]
Unskilled				
Laborer	8	0	10	0
Semi-Skilled				
Foreman	9	0	11	0
Machine Operator	29	0	36	0
Skilled Manual Worker (Seamstress, Clerical)	16	31	20	37
Self-Employed Entrepreneur				
Small Independent Business (Vegetable Store, Restaurant)	19	23	23	28
No Occupation (Unemployed)	0	29	0	35

[a] $n=81$

[b] $n=83$

TABLE C

EDUCATION OF KOREAN-AMERICAN MOTHERS AND FATHERS

Level of Education	Middle Class				Working Class			
	Father[a]		Mother[b]		Father[c]		Mother[d]	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Graduate Work or Professional Training	68	78	13	15	21	26	2	2
College Education (one to four years)	17	20	66	74	36	44	31	37
High School Education	2	2	9	10	13	16	42	51
Other (Vocational or Commercial Schools)	0	0	1	1	11	14	8	10

[a] $n=88$
[b] $n=88$
[c] $n=81$
[d] $n=83$

TABLE D

HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION OF MIDDLE CLASS
AND WORKING CLASS KOREAN-AMERICAN FAMILIES

Number of Persons Living in Household	Middle Class		Working Class	
	Number of Households	Percent	Number of Households	Percent
2	0	0	2	2
3	2	2	8	10
4	40	46	34	40
5	40	46	23	28
6	3	3	12	15
7	2	2	3	4
8	1	1	0	0
9	0	0	0	0
10	0	0	1	1

Note: 92% of middle class families and 68% of working class families contain four or five persons per household.

Background Data Questionnaire

Your name_____Age_____

Address_____

Name of your school_____

We would like you to circle the name of each person who lives with you. Also, please put down the ages of your "brothers" and "sisters" beside the word.

Mother	Aunt
Father	Uncle
Brothers (ages)_____	Cousins (ages)_____
Sisters (ages)_____	Nieces (ages) _____
Grandmother	Nephews (ages)_____
Grandfather	Others (who?)

We would like to know your mother's and father's job.

My mother's job_____

My father's job_____

We would like to know about your mother's and father's education. Circle the right answers. (Please ask your mother or father for help if you need it).

My mother graduated from:	College	High School	Other
My father graduated from:	College	High School	Other

We would also like to know what your last grades were in:

Language Arts_____

Reading _____

Mathematics_____

Social Studies_____

You may ask your parents or school for help if you cannot remember them.

Children's School Grades Collection Sheet

April, 1979

Dear Teacher:

My child is currently participating in a research project which is being conducted through the School of Education, University of Connecticut. This research deals with the growing educational problems of Korean-American children in the United States.

For the purpose of completing this research, we, as parents, need to supply the researcher with my child's grade point average for the period of September 1978 - January 1979 (Fall semester only) in the following area: (Please fill in)

Reading _____

Mathematics _____

Language _____

Social Studies _____

Your time and prompt response is most appreciated.

Parent's Signature _____

Teacher's Signature _____

한국 어린이 어머님들께,

Researcher's Letter to the Participating Mothers

최근 발표된 인구통계국에 의하면 다가오는 1980년도까지는 미국에 거주하는 한국인의 수가 곧 100만에 다다르리라는 놀라운 사실이 있읍니다. 한국인의 수가 증가할수록, 이곳의 한국인 2세의 교육문제가 교육기관에 종사하는 전문가는 물론 일반인들에게도 날로 더욱 큰 관심을 불러일으키어, 여러기관에서 여러가지 형태의 연구가 그들의 효과적인 교육방책을 위해 진행되고 있읍니다.

본인도 이러한 노력의 일환으로 귀하의 자녀들의 가정교육환경이 아이들의 성적에 미치는 영향을 조사하기 위하여 다음과같은 설문서를 준비하였으니, 귀댁의 자녀들로 하여금 ① 설문서에 응답케 하도록 도와주시면 감사하겠읍니다. 아울러, 본인이 준비한 영문편지를 이용하시어 자녀분이 다니는 학교에서 ② 지난학기 (78년도 가을학기) 성적표를 1부 준비하시어, 설문서와 함께 돌려주시기 바랍니다.

모-든것이 부족한 제가 교육에 관해 특별한 관심을 가지고 있다는 사실하나로 직접 찾아뵙지도 못하고 이렇게 서신으로 협조를 부탁드리는 무례를 이해하시고, 우리들의 2세가 가지고있는 여러가지 문제를 같이 생각해보고, 그들의 올바르고 효과적인 교육을 위해 함께 노력한다는 의미에서 여러분의 협조가 본인의 연구에 큰 도움이 되리라 생각됩니다.
어머님들의 협조에 미리 감사드리면서,

1979 년 4 월

Storrs, Connecticut 에서 장 병 채 드림

Parental Acceptance-Rejection Questionnaire (PARQ)

P A R Q: CHILD

Parental A-R Questionnaire: Child

_____ Date _____
Name or I.D.Number

Here are some statements about the way mothers act toward their children. I want you to think about how each one of these fits the way your mother treats you.

Four lines are drawn after each sentence. If the statement is basically true about the way your mother treats you then ask yourself, "Is it almost always true?" or "Is it only sometimes true?" If you think your mother almost always treats you that way, put an X on the line ALMOST ALWAYS TRUE; if the statement is sometimes true about the way your mother treats you then mark SOMETIMES TRUE. If you feel the statement is basically untrue about the way your mother treats you then ask yourself, "Is it rarely true?" or "Is it almost never true?" If it is rarely true about the way your mother treats you put an X on the line RARELY TRUE; if you feel the statement is almost never true then mark ALMOST NEVER TRUE.

Remember, there is no right or wrong answer to any statement, so be as honest as you can. Answer each statement the way you feel your mother really is rather than the way you might like her to be. For example, if your mother almost always hugs and kisses you when you are good, you should mark the item as follows:

	TRUE OF MY MOTHER		NOT TRUE OF MY MOTHER	
	Almost Always True	Sometimes True	Rarely True	Almost Never True
1. My mother hugs and kisses me when I am good	X	____	____	____

_____ _____
Relationship of Referent to Respondent

Questionnaire Administered by

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O.K., now let's try three more to make sure you know how to answer these questions.

	TRUE OF MY MOTHER		NOT TRUE OF MY MOTHER	
	Almost Always True	Sometimes True	Rarely True	Almost Never True
My Mother				
1. Thinks it is my fault if I get into trouble.....	___	___	___	___
2. Likes for me to bring my friends home.....	___	___	___	___
3. Spends as much time with me as she can.....	___	___	___	___

NOW GO TO PAGE THREE AND BEGIN

Remember, there are no right or wrong answers, so answer each sentence the way you really feel.

P A R Q: CHILD

I.D.N. _____

	TRUE OF MY MOTHER		NOT TRUE OF MY MOTHER	
My Mother	Almost Always True	Sometimes True	Rarely True	Almost Never True
1. Says nice things about me ...	___	___	___	___
2. Nags or scolds me when I am bad	___	___	___	___
3. Totally ignores me	___	___	___	___
4. Does not really love me	___	___	___	___
5. Talks to me about our plans and listens to what I have to say	___	___	___	___
6. Complains about me to others when I do not listen to her..	___	___	___	___
7. Takes an active interest in me	___	___	___	___
8. Encourages me to bring my friends home, and tries to make things pleasant for them	___	___	___	___
9. Ridicules and makes fun of me	___	___	___	___
10. Ignores me as long as I do not do anything to bother her	___	___	___	___
11. Yells at me when she is angry	___	___	___	___

	TRUE OF MY MOTHER		NOT TRUE OF MY MOTHER	
	Almost Always True	Sometimes True	Rarely True	Almost Never True
My Mother				
12. Makes it easy for me to tell her things that are important to me	___	___	___	___
13. Treats me harshly	___	___	___	___
14. Enjoys having me around her	___	___	___	___
15. Makes me feel proud when I do well	___	___	___	___
16. Hits me, even when I do not deserve it	___	___	___	___
17. Forgets things she is supposed to do for me	___	___	___	___
18. Sees me as a big bother	___		___	___
19. Praises me to others	___	___	___	___
20. Punishes me severely when she is angry	___	___	___	___
21. Makes sure I have the right kind of food to eat	___	___	___	___
22. Talks to me in a warm and loving way	___	___	___	___
23. Gets angry at me easily	___	___	___	___

	TRUE OF MY MOTHER		NOT TRUE OF MY MOTHER	
	Almost Always True	Sometimes True	Rarely True	Almost Never True

My Mother

24. Is too busy to answer my questions ..... ___ ..... ___ ..... ___ ..... ___

25. Seems to dislike me ..... ___ ..... ___ ..... ___ ..... ___

26. Says nice things to me when I deserve it..... ___ ..... ___ ..... ___ ..... ___

27. Gets mad quickly and picks on me ..... ___ ..... ___ ..... ___ ..... ___

28. Is concerned who my friends are ..... ___ ..... ___ ..... ___ ..... ___

29. Is really interested in what I do ..... ___ ..... ___ ..... ___ ..... ___

30. Says many unkind things to me ..... ___ ..... ___ ..... ___ ..... ___

31. Ignores me when I ask her for help ..... ___ ..... ___ ..... ___ ..... ___

32. Thinks it is my own fault when I am having trouble ..... ___ ..... ___ ..... ___ ..... ___

33. Makes me feel wanted and needed ..... ___ ..... ___ ..... ___ ..... ___

34. Tells me that I get on her nerves ..... ___ ..... ___ ..... ___ ..... ___

35. Pays a lot of attention to me ..... ___ ..... ___ ..... ___ ..... ___

	TRUE OF MY MOTHER		NOT TRUE OF MY MOTHER	
	Almost Always True	Sometimes True	Rarely True	Almost Never True
My Mother				
36. Tells me how proud she is of me when I am good.....	____	____	____	____
37. Goes out of her way to hurt my feelings.....	____	____	____	____
38. Forgets important things I think she should remember....	____	____	____	____
39, Makes me feel I am not loved any more if I misbehave.....	____	____	____	____
40. Makes me feel what I do is important.....	____	____	____	____
41. Frightens or threatens me when I do something wrong.....	____	____	____	____
42. Likes to spend time with me..	____	____	____	____
43. Tries to help me when I am scared or upset.....	____	____	____	____
44. Shames me in front of my playmates when I misbehave...	____	____	____	____
45. Tries to stay away from me...	____	____	____	____
46. Complains about me.....	____	____	____	____
47. Cares about what I think and likes me to talk about it...	____	____	____	____

	TRUE OF MY MOTHER		NOT TRUE OF MY MOTHER	
	Almost Always True	Sometimes True	Rarely True	Almost Never True
My Mother				
48. Feels other children are better than I am no matter what I do.....	___	___	___	___
49. Cares about what I would like when she makes plans.....	___	___	___	___
50. Lets me do things I think are important, even if it is inconvenient for her.....	___	___	___	___
51. Thinks other children behave better than I do.....	___	___	___	___
52. Makes other people take care of me (for example, a neighbor or relative).....	___	___	___	___
53. Lets me know I am not wanted.	___	___	___	___
54. Is interested in the things I do.....	___	___	___	___
55. Tries to make me feel better when I am hurt or sick.....	___	___	___	___
56. Tells me how ashamed she is when I misbehave.....	___	___	___	___
57. Lets me know she loves me....	___	___	___	___
58. Treats me gently and with kindness.....	___	___	___	___

	TRUE OF MY MOTHER		NOT TRUE OF MY MOTHER	
	Almost Always True	Sometimes True	Rarely True	Almost Never True
My Mother				
59. Makes me feel ashamed or guilty when I misbehave.....	___	___	___	___
60. Tries to make me happy.....	___	___	___	___

Personality Assessment Questionnaire (PAQ)

P A Q

Personality Assessment Questionnaire: Child

Name (or I.D.Number) _____ Date _____

Here are some sentences that tell how different people feel about themselves. Read each sentence and think how well it describes you. Work as fast as you can; give your first thought about each item and move on to the next one.

Four lines are drawn after each sentence. If you feel the statement is mostly true about you then ask yourself, "Is it almost always true?" or "Is it only sometimes true?" If you think the statement is almost always true put an X on the line ALMOST ALWAYS TRUE; if you feel the statement is only sometimes true mark SOMETIMES TRUE. If you feel the statement is mostly untrue about you then ask yourself, "Is it rarely (hardly ever) true?" or "Is it almost never true?" If it is rarely true put an X on the line RARELY TRUE; if you feel the statement is almost never true mark ALMOST NEVER TRUE.

Remember, there is no right or wrong answer to any sentence, so be as honest as you can and answer each statement the way you think you really are rather than the way you would like to be. For example, if you almost always feel good about yourself then put an X on the line below the words "Almost Always True."

	TRUE OF ME		NOT TRUE OF ME	
	Almost Always True	Sometimes True	Rarely True	Almost Never True
1. I feel good about myself	X	____	____	____

NOW, TURN TO PAGE TWO

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O.K., now let's try three more to make sure you know how to answer these questions.

	TRUE OF MY MOTHER		NOT TRUE OF MY MOTHER	
	Almost Always True	Sometimes True	Rarely True	Almost Never True
My Mother				
1. Thinks it is my fault if I get into trouble.....	___	___	___	___
2. Likes for me to bring my friends home.....	___	___	___	___
3. Spends as much time with me as she can.....	___	___	___	___

NOW GO TO PAGE THREE AND BEGIN

Remember, there are no right or wrong answers, so answer each sentence the way you really feel.

P A Q: CHILD

I.D.N. _____

	TRUE OF ME		NOT TRUE OF ME	
	Almost Always True	Sometimes True	Rarely True	Almost Never True
1. I think about fighting or being mean....	___	___	___	___
2. I like my mother to feel sorry for me when I am sick.....	___	___	___	___
3. I like myself.....	___	___	___	___
4. I feel I can do the things that I want as well as most people.....	___	___	___	___
5. I have trouble showing people how I feel	___	___	___	___
6. I feel bad or get angry when I try to do something and I cannot do it.....	___	___	___	___
7. I feel that life is nice.....	___	___	___	___
8. I want to hit something or someone.....	___	___	___	___
9. I like my parents to show a lot of love for me.....	___	___	___	___
10. I feel that I am no good and never will be any good.....	___	___	___	___
11. I feel I cannot do things well.....	___	___	___	___
12. It is easy for me to be loving with my parents.....	___	___	___	___
13. I am in a bad mood and grouchy without any good reason.....	___	___	___	___

	TRUE OF ME		NOT TRUE OF ME	
	Almost Always True	Sometimes True	Rarely True	Almost Never True
14. I see life as full of dangers.....	____	____	____	____
15. I get so mad I throw and break things...	____	____	____	____
16. When I am unhappy I like to work out my problems by myself.....	____	____	____	____
17. When I meet someone I do not know, I think he is better than I am.....	____	____	____	____
18. I can compete successfully for the things I want.....	____	____	____	____
19. I feel I have trouble making and keeping good friends.....	____	____	____	____
20. I get upset when things go wrong.....	____	____	____	____
21. I think the world is a good, happy place.....	____	____	____	____
22. I make fun of people who do dumb things.	____	____	____	____
23. I like my mother to give me a lot of attention.....	____	____	____	____
24. I think I am a good person and other people should think so too.....	____	____	____	____
25. I think I am a failure.....	____	____	____	____
26. It is easy for me to show my family that I love them.....	____	____	____	____
27. I am cheery and happy one minute and gloomy or unhappy the next.....	____	____	____	____

	TRUE OF ME		NOT TRUE OF ME	
	Almost Always True	Sometimes True	Rarely True	Almost Never True
28. For me the world is an unhappy place..	___	___	___	___
29. I pout or sulk when I get mad.....	___	___	___	___
30. I like to be given encouragement when I am having trouble with something.....	___	___	___	___
31. I feel pretty good about myself.....	___	___	___	___
32. I feel I cannot do many of the things I try to do.....	___	___	___	___
33. It is hard for me when I try to show the way I really feel to someone I like.....	___	___	___	___
34. It is unusual for me to get angry or upset.....	___	___	___	___
35. I see the world as a dangerous place....	___	___	___	___
36. I have trouble controlling my temper....	___	___	___	___
37. I like my parents to make a fuss over me when I am hurt or sick.....	___	___	___	___
38. I get unhappy with myself.....	___	___	___	___
39. I feel I am a success in the things I do.....	___	___	___	___
40. It is easy for me to show my friends that I really like them.....	___	___	___	___

	TRUE OF ME		NOT TRUE OF ME	
	Almost Always True	Sometimes True	Rarely True	Almost Never True
41. I get upset easily when I meet hard problems.....	____	____	____	____
42. Life for me is a good thing.....	____	____	____	____

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